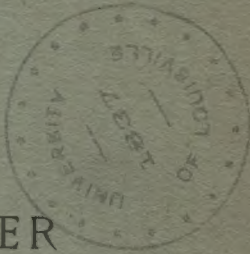


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RAILROAD RATE LEGISLATION.

THE TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY.

RECENT LETTERS OF
WILLIAM E. CHANDLER
WITH A PREFACE.



[September 30, 1905.]

CONCORD, N. H.:
RUMFORD PRINTING COMPANY.
1905.

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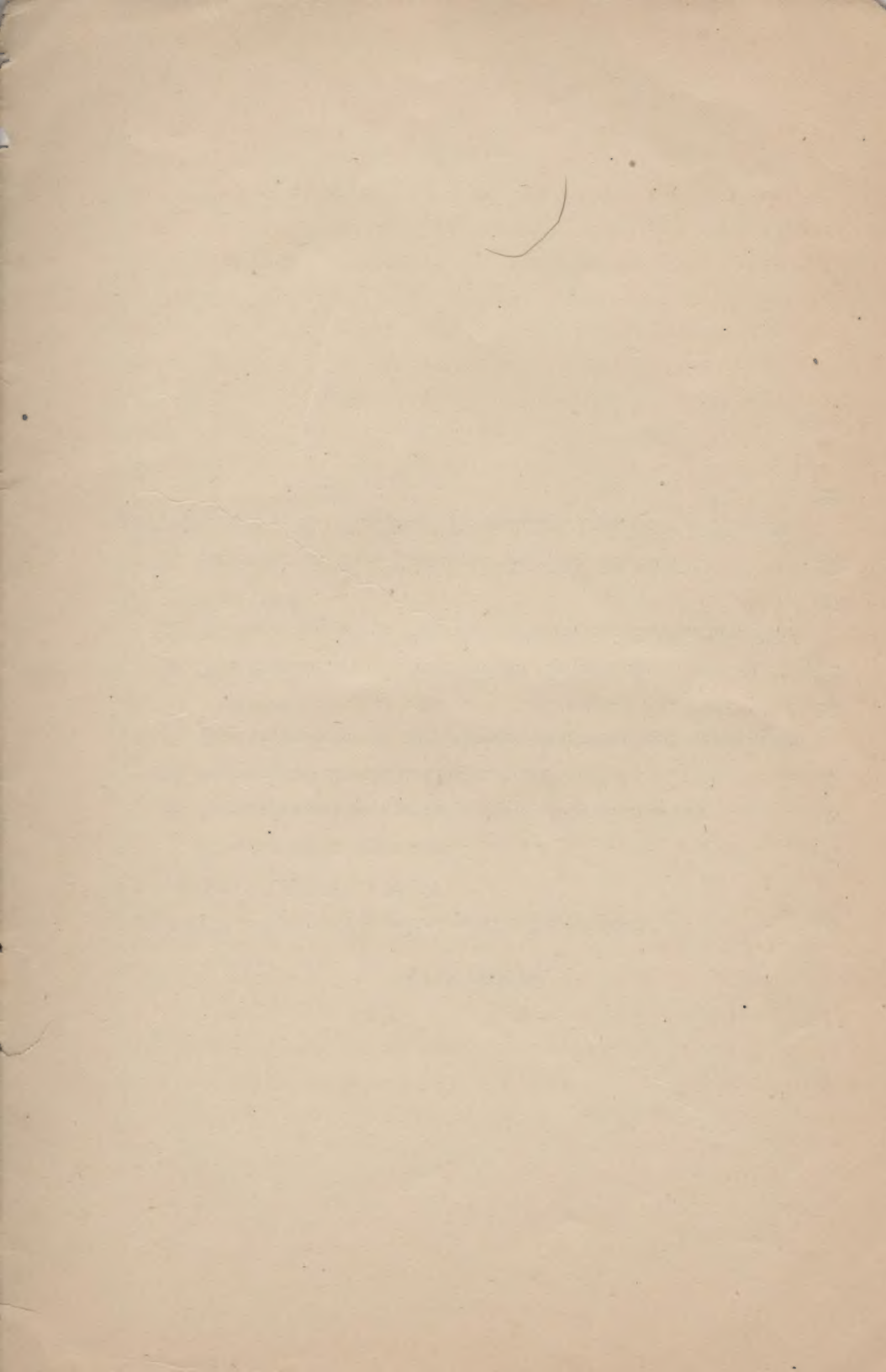
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PREFACE.

Fortunately the people of this country are at last aroused to the necessity of new laws for the government of their huge railroad corporations;—with their thirteen billions of capital and their two thousand millions of annual earnings, practically all under the control and at the command of half a dozen managers. This uprising is due largely to the recent discovery of the political contributions made in 1896 and since by the Equitable and New York Life Insurance Companies, which show very clearly that all the directors of the other great corporations of the country have made similar contributions; especially the Railroads and the National Banks—constituting in every case a robbery of their stockholders and a crime against free and honest suffrage.

The object of these vast expenditures by the money power is the control of the political government of the nation; the selection and ownership of all Presidents, Senators, Representatives, Governors, Judges, and all the other chief officers of the national and state governments, through the domination of the political organizations of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The principal agencies in thus subjugating all government to the money power are the Railroad Corporations, for the simple reason that they exist everywhere and do business with everybody, and have facilities for corrupting mankind not possessed by the insurance companies, the banks or the great industrial corporations of the country; those special facilities coming from the power of discriminating in the transportation rates for

eighty millions of people and of giving free transportation when useful for purposes of corruption.

That the masses of the people are serious in their determination to obtain political freedom and needed legislation, there is no doubt; but the difficulties in their way are many and possibly will be insurmountable for some years to come; perhaps can only be removed by political revolutions in the years 1906 and 1908, which will bring with that freedom and legislation incidental evils much to be dreaded—most notably the impairment or destruction of the protective tariff system which has done so much to bring unexampled prosperity to the United States.

The papers which are herewith printed are only the most recent of Mr. Chandler's appeals, continuously made for years in behalf of such policies and such legislation as will secure pure politics and honest government with the continued ascendancy of the present dominant political party and will also maintain the present prosperity and honor of the nation. It will be seen that his principal reliance is on the steadfastness and courage during the next session of Congress of President Roosevelt.

CONCORD, N. H.

September 30, 1905.

Concord, New Hampshire,
September 12th, 1905.

Edward A. Moseley, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

The attack upon me in connection with railroad legislation and the "Jim Crow Cars" to which you and Senator Cockrell call my attention, is based upon a not uncommon but a discreditable device which is now resorted to by the railroad advocates, namely, putting their own words which I quoted into my mouth as my sentiments.

In an interview in the Washington Post of May 28th last I charged that one plan of the railroads to defeat the president's legislation was to be an appeal to the South against it, because of the danger of its use to abolish the "Jim Crow Cars"; that Samuel Spencer of the Southern Railway had been designated to work this appeal, and consolidate the South against the president by the "old and never-failing cry that there is danger of negro ascendancy"; and that he had already begun his work on that line. Indeed, when a manufacturers' convention at the South was asked by Mr. E. B. Pike of New Hampshire to endorse the legislation, Mr. Spencer defeated him by the "Jim Crow Car" argument.

In my interview I used these words:

"IT IS BEING SAID to the Southern people that if national control of the railroads is allowed, all discrimination between whites and blacks in the enjoyment of railroad facilities will be abolished; in other words, there will be no more Jim Crow cars and the white man and the negro will have to sit side by side in the same cars all over the South."

Forthwith Mr. Spencer's newspaper

assistants saw their opportunity and boldly stated that Mr. Chandler was advocating the new railroad legislation because it could be used to destroy the Jim Crow cars, and they thus falsely put into my mouth the words I had truthfully put into their mouths. The Boston Herald of July 31st says that Mr. Chandler has come out in favor of the Townsend-Esch bill; that Mr. Chandler does not profess much concern about freight traffic conditions; and then proceeds: "His motive for favoring the measure is an entirely different one. 'If,' he says, 'national control of railroads is allowed, all discriminations between whites and blacks in the enjoyment of railroad facilities will be abolished. In other words, there will be no Jim Crow cars,' etc., etc." The Herald continues that Mr. Chandler's course has served to put southern congressmen on their guard and it is proposed that amendments to the bill shall be made, providing that there may be separate coaches for whites and blacks. Mr. Chandler it is said, considering his record, would "favor any legislation likely to precipitate a race war."

The Manchester (N.H.) Union of August 25th says that Mr. Chandler has certainly stirred up a fine nest of hornets down South, and then continues: "THIS IS WHAT HE SAID: 'If national control of railroads is allowed all discriminations,' etc., etc.," repeating the Jim Crow car paragraph above given.

The Railway Age of August 18th says that Mr. Chandler is not popular at the South and not held in loving remembrance by the representatives of railway interests; and then proceeds: "He favors the Esch-Townsend bill and HIS REASONS THEREFOR ARE

THUS REPORTED: If national control of railroads is allowed, etc. In other words, there will be no Jim Crow cars, etc."

The Age goes on: "This pronouncement has been taken up by southern newspapers and it is likely to have a potent influence in shaping public sentiment relative to rate legislation." The Age cites the Macon Telegraph as saying that the bill must be resisted on the Jim Crow car ground: "If there were no other reason for opposing the scheme to concentrate this power at Washington, the Telegraph would oppose it on this single ground." The Age quotes from the Charleston Post as saying that the southern people "listen quickly to appeals of special advantage, and these are being made cleverly enough by the railroads and they are quickly moved by play upon their prejudices, and this is being taken full advantage of in the treatment of the Jim Crow car question."

The Age, however, says that the language of the new bill on the point in question is not materially different from the present law. "If the Esch-Townsend bill would make Jim Crow cars illegal they are already illegal." And the Age finishes by asserting: "As the Charleston Post says, 'there are serious fundamental objections to that bill.'" In other words, the Age and the Charleston Post think the legislation can be defeated without the Jim Crow car argument and without mendaciously attributing to me the argument in favor of it that it could be used to destroy the separate cars for blacks and whites. But that method of appeal has gone on—"taken up by southern newspapers"—and under Mr. Spencer's guidance will be effectively used to take all the southern members and senators away from the support of the bill. This denial of mine will not be published by the free pass newspapers and the falsehood will still be published all over the South to fire the southern heart against any railroad legislation—and will doubtless be successful in defeating it. As you have addressed me on this subject, I will trouble you by a future letter thereon.

Very respectfully,

W. E. Chandler.

Concord, New Hampshire
September 15th, 1905.

Edward A. Moseley, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Continuing my letter to you, I wish to say that the people, the president and the interstate commerce commission should not rest under any delusion that they are to win an easy victory at the coming session of congress over the combined railroad powers of the country.

It is true that the issue was squarely made last winter by the president, who in his annual message of December 6, 1904, said:

"The commission should be vested with the power, where a given rate has been challenged and after a full hearing found to be unreasonable, to decide, subject to judicial review, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place; the ruling of the commission to take effect immediately and to obtain unless and until it is reversed by the court of review."

The Esch-Townsend bill (which passed the house 325 to 17) contained as its main clause the precise proposition of the president.

The railroads took direct issue with the president, as well as all the advocates of his proposition, and defeated the bill in the senate. If the president had seasonably declared that if it should be defeated he would call an extra session in April, doubtless it would have passed before March 4th. If it had not and he had called such a session the bill would have soon passed. Probably it would have passed if he had called an extra session in October. But as the renewed fight does not begin until December or January next, the session will most likely end in July, 1906, without the proposition of the president becoming a law. Last winter and spring the railroads were not ready; next December they will be ready and the proposition seems doomed.

The methods of defeating the measure are well understood by all but novices.

No vote will be allowed on the direct proposition. The question will be con-

fused by all sorts of qualifications and additions; and the proposition will be so overlaid with other propositions that it will either pass not at all, or will pass in a worthless form, or quite likely in such a form that the railroads will get more from it than the president and the people.

Such was the case of the so-called Elkins bill of February 19, 1903. The most important feature of that bill was the repeal of the provision of the old law that punished violations thereof by individual officers of railroads by imprisonment as well as fine. The repealing clause was this:

"In all convictions occurring after the passage of this act for offenses under said act to regulate commerce, whether committed before or after the passage of this act, or for offenses under this section, no penalty shall be imposed on the convicted party other than the FINE prescribed by law, IMPRISONMENT wherever now prescribed as a part of the penalty BEING HEREBY ABOLISHED."

For the last twenty years the railroad managers have been anxious to secure this repeal of imprisonment as a penalty for their misdeeds. At no time would they have refused to give far more in a new law than they conceded in the Elkins law in order to get rid of the horror held before them by the old law—the ever present fear that for their rebates and other crimes they might at some time find themselves looking out between prison bars.

The wrong that was being done was clearly exposed, not in the senate, where the railroads saw the bill pass without debate, but fully in the house. Mr. DeArmond said: "The great object of this bill is to repeal remedial legislation * * * the imprisonment. That is made plain and distinct. There never was a better instance in the world * * * of the deliberate, premeditated attempt to bunco the people of this country than this effort to pass through with hot haste this bill" Mr. Cochran said: "For one, I will not vote for a law, the most salient provisions of which aim at relieving the lawless railroad managers from the penalties imposed by existing statutes."

Mr. Cochran did not vote for the bill,

nor did Mr. DeArmond, but all but six members of the house did—the majority having cunningly prevented any vote on individual amendments, and the Democrats being foolishly persuaded that the bill would do more good than harm—as apparently has been convinced the interstate commerce commission. But there was rejoicing, and has ever since been rejoicing, among the railroad gentlemen all over the country at the longed-for and at last obtained removal of their omnipresent terror of the convict's cell.

So also again next winter faithless Republicans and timid Democrats will combine to make any bill which may pass congress give more to the railroads than to the people. The simple proposition of the president will be so overlaid with qualifications as to be worthless, or the bill will be so crowded with additions justly objectionable or of doubtful utility as to make its passage through both houses impossible. Extreme amendments will be devised and secretly pressed by the railroad managers, so that at the last they will be sure either that the bill will not pass or that it will do them more good than harm, as did the Elkins bill. It will be well for the commission to consider and be prepared for their adroit methods, to some of which I will allude.

Very respectfully,
W. E. Chandler.

Concord, New Hampshire.
September 22d, 1905.

Edward A. Moseley, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

Continuing my observations to you, I wish to say that the most dangerous amendments or additions to the Esch-Townsend bill, which are to be put forward next winter under the guise of friendly improvements of the bill, but really as railroad tricks intended to defeat it, are those which can be justly opposed as carrying federal power too far and as invading the proper domain of state rights. The majority of Democrats will be willing or constrained to vote for most of the propositions of the president; but they will not vote

for gross enlargements of federal power and bold extinctions of states' rights. Therefore, it is most important that inasmuch as there is national power to regulate commerce among the several states sufficient to authorize congress to remedy all existing evils in interstate railroad transportation, such power should not be pushed forward either by enemies or friends to unwise encroachments upon the police powers of the states.

In this connection an additional illustration of methods of not doing things should be recalled, and that is the ostensible anti-trust movements of the dominant party in June, 1900. A constitutional amendment was brought forward in the house which, under the guise of power to congress to suppress trusts took into the hands of congress control for every purpose over all state corporations, specifying the right "to define, regulate, prohibit and dissolve" them; an amendment which by no possibility could have been carried in the state legislatures. All opportunity to amend it was denied; the Democrats, of course, voted against it, and on June 1st it failed of a two-thirds vote—yeas, 154, nays, 132—and of course did not go to the senate.

As a companion to this impossible constitutional emendment a bill "to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies" * * * "in the form of trust or otherwise," had been introduced and considered, and on June 2 the Democratic amendments were voted down and the bill passed—yeas, 260, nays, 8. In the senate the bill was on June 5th referred to the judiciary committee and on July 1st congress adjourned without action thereon.

At the December short session. A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HAVING INTERVENED, the date of February 11, 1901, was reached without any report from the judiciary committee, and a motion was on that day made to discharge the committee so that the senate might act on the bill. After debate the motion was, on March 2d, voted down—yeas, 24, nays, 36—substantially a party vote—and the bill died.

The Republican national convention

of 1900 had condemned "conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or to control prices," and had promised such legislation as would "prevent all such abuses and protect and promote competition." The convention of 1904 boasted of the Republican laws against "the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital" and promised not to permit such aggregations "to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people."

If in such ways as those of 1900 and 1901 and the Elkins law of 1903 the Republican congress next winter is to end its fulfilment of its pledges to destroy trusts and monopolies and protect the people, it had better not make any beginning.

It is not unnatural that the Republican party should seek remedies for social evils from national legislation. It is true that in its origin that party appealed to states' rights to resist the encroachments of the slave power which then controlled the national government. But when the Republicans obtained that control and slavery and secession began war against the Union under the claim of states' rights, the Republicans began to magnify national power in order to secure the maintenance of the Union and the destruction of slavery; and in the third of a century while that party has controlled the nation, it has carried the aggrandizement of national power and the domination of states' rights to a mistaken extreme. It is time to call a halt before the tables are again turned and weapons unwisely forged by the North are directed against that section and threaten its dearest interests.

Constitutional principles should not be thus varied with any shifting desires of the people. Sovereign states with states' rights are a vital part of our system of government and must be maintained with due respect for their legitimate powers. Without those states in full vigor of political action according to the original plan of the fathers, the perpetuity of the nation will not be secure. Blot out the states and make our sub-national divisions no more than those of England or France and our national union

would not exist for half a century.

The full existing powers of the national government should be exercised for the suppression of all pending evils. They need not be enlarged by amendment or by unnatural construction in order to supervise the business of insurance, or to control corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or to suppress trusts and monopolies and preserve competition. Let the congress do what it fairly can and the states will do the rest; and if by any possibility the congress should be faithless the states will supply all omissions. All attempts to suppress trusts and monopolies by an undue use of national power and especially by forbidding state action will be worse than useless; they will defeat the very end in view and may justly be considered as intended for that purpose. Their advocates are not wise, they may not be sincere, they are possibly traitors in the disguise of friends.

Very respectfully,
W. E. Chandler.

Concord, New Hampshire.
September 25th, 1905.

Edward A. Moseley, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

You cannot reasonably expect that a law can be passed through both houses of congress which shall make a reasonable transportation rate fixed by the commission take effect immediately and remain in force until reversed by the court of review, when Mr. Samuel Spencer, in behalf of the railroads, has announced that they will not permit either of two things:

I.

"Power in the commission to substitute in a particular case a rate or price which in their judgment is just or reasonable, in the place of one judged by them to be unjust or unreasonable."

II.

"Statutes which provide that a rate of transportation once fixed by any authority shall remain perpetually in force thereafter until changed by commission or by court."

These are Mr. Spencer's words. The issue is thus squarely joined between the railroads and the president. They prevailed in the last congress and will doubtless prevail in the next. The principal reason is because the money power of the country is on one side, thoroughly awake and organized, while only the consumers—the users of transportation, are on the other side; without money and unorganized—with their only hope in the president.

Consider the enormous amount of capital which has arrayed itself against the president—13,000 millions of dollars; representing 210,000 miles of railroad; 2,000 millions of dollars of earnings each year; five millions of stockholders; 1,500,000 of workmen, with four millions of inhabitants behind them. Bear in mind, also, that not only can the railroads use unlimited money to achieve their ends, but that they are the only combination that can use directly their one product everywhere and with everybody (that product being transportation over 210,000 miles of railroad) in order to corrupt legislatures, congress, and the whole state and national governments. The other trusts cannot buy men or officials directly with their oil, grain, beef and coal; these commodities must be converted into money, and that must be expended with danger of detection. But transportation is a universal commodity which everybody everywhere wants. Free passes and mileage books are as good as cash, many times are better, and their corrupt use is easily concealed. So is free or special-rate freight transportation. By such weapons of money and free transportation society in all its branches is corrupted and controlled.

I. The Lawyers.

First, the lawyers, by retainers and more or less employment, are as a class thoroughly ruled by the railroads. Outside the great cities the bulk of the lawyers are retained, sometimes only by annual passes. Inside those cities the most eminent and able lawyers are retained. From the ranks of the railroad lawyers are obtained the machinery of the courts of justice—the judges and government attorneys, the legislators, governors, and other state and

national officials; and a majority of them ride free upon all railroad trains. The power of the combined lawyers of the country will be directed against the railroad legislation wanted. What one lawyer is retained on the other side?

II. The Ministers.

Ministers of the gospel are especially cared for by the railroads. They are given half-fare in any event and free riding whenever asked for. Tainted money and free passes are forced upon the ministers of the gospel, and the college presidents and professors without limit. Look and see how many of them speak out for railroad legislation and against trusts; for cheap food and oil and coal, now made costly by high rates of railroad transportation.

III. The Newspapers.

Universally, the proprietors and editors of newspapers fail to buy their railroad tickets and to pay cash fares like other citizens. The usual method of corrupting the newspapers is to enter into contracts with them, by which in return for advertising in the papers there are issued special tickets for transportation to the proprietors. Each newspaper opens a running account with its railroad master and makes advertising charges for anything or everything it may choose to publish at some convenient rate of charge. The railroad keeps a similar running account with the newspaper and makes charges for all the tickets which it issues to the paper; and they are given without stint—yellow mileage books sometimes, and free passes sometimes. The system is a cunning one, but all the more deadly. The newspaper proprietors of the country get their riding either free or for as little as they choose to pay for it; and substantially the whole country newspaper press of the United States is corrupted by the railroads of the country. The system is grossly illegal. No other class in the community is allowed to keep running accounts with the railroads. Every other fare or freight-paying citizen pays cash before he rides or before he receives his transported goods. Alone of all the trades in the country the railroads do a purely cash business, lose nothing by bad debts, and give no

credit except for the purpose of corrupting the newspapers. Yet the interstate commerce commission does not venture to move against this gross illegality. Why not?

If the above is not a mistaken picture, it is easy to see why effective railroad legislation can make no progress next winter. The evils in railroad management and society which ought to be torn up and destroyed—the trusts and the competition-destroying monopolies—are deep-rooted in our present social system. They cannot be eradicated by a complete reform without an overwhelming public sentiment in its favor which will force corrupt or reluctant officials to take the side of the president and the people. But how can such a sentiment be created against the powers of suppression wielded by the huge railroad combination—the biggest single combination in the world? Public sentiment in America on great subjects is created by lawyers, the ministers, the newspapers and the teachers in educational institutions. If they keep still there will be as near a complete silence as there is on all public questions in China and Turkey. If all of them who speak advocate the wrong side, what chance is there for truth and righteousness to be heard? Yet that is the situation—or will be next winter. The railroads are getting in their money and work and free passes everywhere. Who is spending one dollar, or making one plan, or saying ten words, on the side of the people? The fight will be between organized corruption and unorganized helplessness. It is easy to see that money may prevail against men, even if the latter are led by President Roosevelt.

Very respectfully,
W. E. Chandler.

Concord, New Hampshire.
September 27th, 1905.

Edward A. Moseley, Esq.,
Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

If the railroad determination and power are what I have stated to you, it will be seen that the only hope that

the proposition of the president will become a law must be founded on his steadfastness and positive, active exertions in its behalf against every manner of opposition by seductive persuasions and defiant hostilities. First, if possible, the president is to be persuaded that the important thing is not the fixing of rates by some other power than the railroads; is not the giving of remedial rate-making power to the commission; but that new legislation should take some other form.

I.

The railroads loudly assert that there is no possible need of governmental interference with their freedom, except for the prevention of rebates and other discriminations; and those, they say, they will do all in their power to suppress. Secretary Paul Morton is the ardent advocate of this great work, and it seems that he is the original apostle Paul who first preached repentance to the railroad sinners, having seen a great light himself while on his road.

Yet if the railroad managers for twenty years have been gross violators of the laws against discriminations and have successfully evaded their enforcement and have at last succeeded in repealing the penalty of imprisonment, it would seem that others than themselves are the best judges to what extent new remedies are needed and what those remedies should be. Nevertheless, in their desire to turn the efforts of the president in some other direction than the giving of power to the commission to fix a remedial rate various propositions will be suggested instead of the one thing needful.

The present laws against rebates and other discriminations are reasonably ample, although lacking the imprisonment penalty. The great and perhaps the only thing that is necessary is the power to fix rates, which is championed by the president; and that would be absolutely potent against discriminations for a very simple reason: If a railroad grants a lower rate to one customer than to another the interstate commerce commission, upon proof of the fact, will fix that rate as the legal and only rate for all persons, and discrimination instantly ceases from that

very condition. It is the one great remedy which the commission has been striving for and the railroads successfully resisting for twenty years—the fixing of a new rate when an old rate is proved to be unjust—and now the time of trial has come, with a president for the first time on the side of the people. There is asked for, no fixing of rates by the commission preliminarily—that is a bold but false cry of the railroads—but a reasonable remedy from the commission when a wrong is proved, and the power of the executive government to apply that remedy until the rate is reversed by the action of a court. Can the president be persuaded that something else than this limited rate-fixing power is as good or better than that?

II.

The most dangerous method to be adopted by the railroads in their determination to defeat the one needful remedy for existing evils is the encouragement of national remedies which will arouse opposition as encroachments on state rights, and send the southern senators and representatives into opposition to all congressional legislation. These plans have already been described in my letters to you. These federal methods naturally appeal to President Roosevelt, a national Republican, and even Mr. Bryan, a state rights Democrat, has proposed that every state corporation shall be required to obtain a national license before doing business in another state. The inception of all such schemes is to be aided by the railroads—including the federal control of state insurance companies—and when the country is once alarmed by their magnitude and revolutionary tendencies, they are all—railroad legislation and all other similar bills for aggrandizing federal power to be all together hurled to destruction. However well intended by their possibly innocent authors, all propositions which are designed or can be made use of to defeat or weaken the president's proposition that the commission shall fix remedial rates and that the executive shall enforce them till reversed by a court, will be most unwisely and harmfully put forth.

III.

One new method of the railroads should be especially guarded against, the attempt to destroy the interstate commerce commission by substituting therefor a special railroad court. This country may desire such a court sometime, but today its advocacy is a service to the railroads, for the impossibility of immediate success makes it only a method of preventing all legislation—gives the delay of all legislation to the railroads, which is the most they now expect to accomplish. The interstate commerce commission, which has been so helpless all these years should be given due power, which it can exercise promptly for the redress of grievances; and it will then be time enough to talk about establishing a federal court in its place. The grievances of the users of railroads should be quickly remedied by the use of executive power, which may be revised by the judiciary, but those grievances should not go unrelieved until lawsuits of poor men against huge railroads drag their slow length along to a conclusion futile because so remote.

While a bill to strengthen the interstate commerce commission was pending in the senate I furnished, at his request, to a senator who was a strong opponent of the railroad counter-propositions for pooling and anti-scalping legislation, some data to be used by him in debate. Shortly he came to me and said he had concluded not to speak. I asked him if his views had changed, and he replied that they had not, but that the railroads had sent for one of the richest and strongest men in his state, who was his personal friend and always helped him when he was in need, and who begged him to keep silent, which he had agreed to do. I ventured to ask him if he could afford thus to stifle his convictions, and this inquiry seemed to disturb him, for he said: "I have been thinking over this subject since my friend came, and I am coming to believe that strengthening the commission will do no good. We want stronger legislation and I am in favor of abolishing the commission and establishing a powerful railroad court in its stead." I concluded that the railroad's friend had captured my

associate, and I gave him up as an ally, only asking back my memorandum of data. The advocates at the coming session of the abolition of the commission and the establishment of a railroad court should be viewed with curiosity and care.

IV.

If the president cannot by any such methods as I have indicated be diverted from the support of the proposition to give remedial power to the commission, nor led to qualify it to its destruction, the intention of the railroad managers is to endeavor to persuade him to content himself with merely recommending it in his message and letting congress deal with it without further urging of any sort from him—the further urging without which they are sure they can overlay and postpone or defeat it. Their plan has been to frighten him if they could; and if not, then to persuade him. Their plan early in 1904 was to defeat him for the nomination as president, and if they could not, then to nominate a conservative Democrat whom they thought could be controlled by the money power. They did not defeat Roosevelt, but they did nominate Parker, and were satisfied with him. But it soon appeared that the latter could not as a plutocrat carry the Democratic vote, and so he joined the proletariat and called upon Bryan to help him against the money power; which thereupon supported Roosevelt, whose great success brought the magnates again face to face with him as president—him who had ended the coal strike and destroyed the Northern Securities combination; and there they now stand, pleading, intriguing, hoping that he will betray his trust and abandon his pledges.

The president is indeed in high estate—where ordinary delinquencies will not count for much against him. He made peace between Japan and Russia, which no other national ruler could have done. The thanks and praises which he has received from the Mikado, the Czar, Emperor William, King Edward, President Loubet, and so many other of the greatest men on earth, have made him today the most notable

chief ruler of the world. The cheers for President Roosevelt by the Russian soldiers in their hour of relief from ever-present despair of victory or peace have reached around the world to the ears of the American millions who love and are proud of their peerless president.

All this glory has not come by accident. It must be considered, in its completeness, as due to his intellectual and moral greatness, the fruit of native genius, fine instincts, high aspirations, and unequalled clearness of perceptions, of ardent study, incessant devotion to duty as the supreme object in life, and unfaltering physical and moral courage, held in subjection to no mortal man, and only subservient to conscience as the ever-present voice in his soul of the God of the universe. The American people cannot too much respect and honor such a president, who has been given to them for the initial work of the nation in the beginning of a new century.

That the railroad managers believe they can seduce a president like this from a duty to which he has consecrated himself seems incredible, but such is the case. There are now no more threats and denunciations. Their words are soft and tempting and might mean much in the not very far distant future. Shall he who is a leader and arbiter among the nations, the most

conspicuous figure among all earthly rulers, who is to be forever historically associated with Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield and McKinley, give himself with unseemly zeal and unbecoming effort to securing a petty measure of power to a railroad commission to fix transportation rates; against the opposition of the greatest existing money power in the universe—which has so much in the future to give or to withhold?

No doubt the railroad managers wish to take this marvelous president—the object of their present attention and solicitude—up into an exceeding high mountain, where they can show him in a moment of time all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. That through their persuasion he will falter in his efforts to perform with all the characteristic force of his nature any announced duty, even the least, in his high office, will not be believed by the American people. But he needs all the help which the people can give to him against 13,000 millions of dollars absolutely controlled and directed for the purpose of defeating the president's proposition by Samuel Spencer and J. Pierpont Morgan and their associates, each one whispering: All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me.

Very respectfully,
W. E. Chandler.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1905.

To the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce:

Permit me, as a former member of your committee, not unfamiliar with the subject, to earnestly urge a favorable consideration of House Bill No. 18,588, which passed the House on February 9, and gives the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix reasonable rates of transportation to be charged by the railroads of the country.

The bill is a model of simplicity and directness in legislation. It provides that when the commission has, upon complaint under existing laws and after full hearing, declared any railroad rate, regulation or practice to be unreasonable or unjustly discriminatory, it shall declare and order what shall be a just and reasonable rate, regulation or practice; and this shall take effect within 30 days after notice given; and a court may enforce the decision and any carrier disobeying may be fined for disobedience.

Within 60 days after the notice the carrier may begin proceedings in the court to review the lawfulness, justice and reasonableness of the decision, and to prevent its enforcement and operation; and any judge of the court may issue orders, including temporary restraining orders, whenever grantable according to the rules and practice of the court.

Here is a clear, exact, moderate and safe method of protecting the people from extortion through railroad rates, which is not complicated with any other object or plan; and is clearly unobjectionable in expression, if the purpose is just and commendable.

The other provisions create a court of transportation to be composed of five circuit judges of the United States

to be respectively designated by the president for one, two, three, four and five years; all the evidence which was before the commission is to be received by the court and also additional evidence, if it is shown that it did not exist or with due diligence could not have been known at the time of the hearing before the commission.

Before the court the attorney-general of the United States is to assume the defense of the decisions of the commission; there may be an appeal to the Supreme Court and the cases are to have precedence therein over all other causes except criminal cases.

There is absolutely nothing in the bill beyond what has been thus stated that is of importance. It is perfectly intelligible and plain, needs no close scrutiny or investigation for comprehension and is clearly unobjectionable to any one who is willing that a rate, regulation or practice fixed by the commission shall prevail until changed as the result of a judicial decision.

There are minor defects in the bill—all favorable to the railroads. The use twice of the words "including restraining orders" seems to invite a judge to suspend every rate-fixing decision of the commission; and the power given to any one of the five judges to issue such an order is objectionable. But these faults can be corrected later if any judge misuses his power. The bill should not be hindered to make amendments now. The people ardently desire its passage without delay.

Moreover, the bill has been almost literally recommended by President Roosevelt in his annual message of December 6, 1904, in these words: "As a fair security to shippers, the commission should be vested with the power, where a given rate has been challenged and after full hearing

found to be unreasonable, to decide, subject to judicial review, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place; the ruling of the commission to take effect immediately and to obtain unless and until it is revised by the court of review."

In this opinion of the president it is safe to assert that 99-100ths of the American people concur. If the proposition could be submitted to a referendum it would receive almost a unanimous yea from the voters of the country. The House has adopted it 326 yeas to 17 nays. It is sure to be a law sometime; why not now? Why hesitate and delay, invite a tumult throughout the nation and then pass the law or a more stringent one at a called session of the next Congress in April, May or September?

It is true, the railroads of the United States have joined issue with the president and the House of Representatives and say the rate-making power shall never be taken away from them. These railroads are, of course, strong and influential with their money, with their free passes, with their rebates and discriminations;—with twelve thousand millions of dollars concentrated in a few hands against the scattered unorganized patrons of the roads who are helpless against railroad extortion and oppression, unless you help them. Will you not speedily help them?

The just rights of the railroads are well guarded in the bill as the whole world sees. There never will be adopted a method safer for the railroads than this. If there is much delay a more radical measure is sure to be passed.

I.

The right to resist the commission's rates by legal proceedings may not be granted by the next Congress. The power to refuse such right is ample. All that is necessary is for Congress to require the railroads to conform to the commission's rates or quit doing interstate commerce business. The state Legislatures, if free from railroad corruption and tyranny, and aroused to do their duty, may pass bills requiring all railroads chartered within their limits to conform to fixed rates or surrender their charters. No

subtlety which courts can develop based on averments that the rates fixed are "confiscatory" will be of any avail against such unquestionable exercises of popular power.

Nor is the proposal a terrifying one;—to require transportation companies to submit to rates which they do not fix, and without the right to litigate as to their reasonableness. In 1902 the 987 street railways of the country, with 23,000 miles of single track, involved \$2,300,000,000 of capital; and every company was operated under fixed rates, in the making of which it had no voice whatever.

Undoubtedly, the measures thus named as possible, would be radical and extreme. But such measures are exactly what the people are getting ready to adopt;—if their Congress and their state Legislatures yield to the threats or the seductions of the railroad managers. Such measures would result in public inconvenience, for a time—would doubtless compel a reorganization of the railroad systems of the country. But if the people decide to endure the temporary evils, will not the ultimate gain be infinite? The twelve thousand millions of railroad capital represents less than eight thousand millions of value; four thousand millions is excessive valuation and over-capitalization. Why should the people be longer oppressed by the efforts of the railroad managers to pay interest and dividends which, at five per cent., would be six hundred millions annually?

II.

Government ownership of all railroads is not improbable if the people of this country become once fully alive to the iniquities of the present system of corrupt railroad control of rates and rebates; of politics and government. If the government should acquire the railroad system for eight thousand millions of dollars, as it might, it could borrow the money at three per cent.,—and the tax upon the public would be only two hundred and forty millions annually, as against five per cent. on twelve thousand millions, namely six hundred millions. Would not the people who use the railroads be immensely the gainers from a

three hundred and sixty millions reduction every year in railroad rates?

III.

The simplest method of securing reasonable rates would be to introduce the direct power of the government into the management of railroad corporations carrying interstate passengers and freight by the appointment of a number of government directors for each corporation and by the requirement that rates shall be fixed only with the approval of a majority of such directors. The Union Pacific Railroad had as a part of its governing body several government directors. A prohibition by Congress of interstate traffic not carried on by companies having government directors with the power stated would be entirely free from constitutional objections; and the state Legislatures would readily co-operate in providing for such directors in corporations chartered by the states. There are various ways in which may be secured the direct affirmative participation by the government in the active management of public service corporations engaged in interstate commerce; and it has long seemed to me that at last this mode of governmental control over rates would be adopted. The Interstate Commerce Commission and all lawsuits about rates would be thereby made unnecessary.

Congress, however, is doubtless not yet prepared to adopt either of the three schemes for the protection of the people thus outlined; and seems inclined to be content with the grant of power to the Interstate Commerce Commission upon complaint and after hearing to fix rates which shall govern until reversed by the courts. What are the railroad managers saying to this moderate proposal? They say they will never submit to it;—and they are trying to divert the people and Congress from this simple issue to their outcries that the crying evil is rebates and discriminations only; and they noisily declare that no laws can be passed against rebates which they will not gladly welcome and obey. They even pretend to request new penalties for rebates, which they say will

compel them to be obedient and virtuous.

The public mind should not be thus turned from the real present issue; that of governmental participation in the making of rates. The laws now upon the statute book are severe against rebates and discriminations and the railroad officials can easily obey them if they choose to do so. Why, then, do they not obey them? Why have they in the past resisted the passage of every law prohibiting discriminations; and disobeyed it and defied its penalties? Why did they, on February 19, 1903, procure the passage by Congress of a provision of law removing the penalty of imprisonment for granting rebates, in these words: "Imprisonment wherever now prescribed as part of the penalty being hereby abolished"?

Why have they repeatedly made pooling contracts in defiance of law in the cases of the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, the Joint Traffic Association and the Northern Securities Company? Why have they literally flooded the country with passes and free mileage books for national and state officials and politicians of high and low degree—thereby corrupting and debasing political government by railroad crime?

Senator Depew, on December 14, 1892, with his usual charming frankness, said to the Senate committee: "I appeared here for 20 years before committees of Congress under a retainer, whose instructions were to fight the supervision of the railways of the country by public authorities. My own judgment was the other way, but I obeyed my retainer. . . . The safety of the corporations, as well as the safety of the public, is dependent upon a rigid, intelligent, honest, effective supervision of their affairs. We are all agreed on that."

Mr. George B. Roberts of the Pennsylvania road was equally explicit, saying: "To say that the railroad transporters of the country, the transportation interests of the country, are observing the open and published rates is simply a farce."

"Q. Do you mean that there is a universal violation of the existing law

by the railroad companies of the country?"

"MR. ROBERTS: I do not believe there is anybody who pretends there is not. It is known to you."

This was in 1892. Twelve years later, in 1904, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad was found guilty, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, of having "systematically, wilfully and continuously" violated for the last five years the law against rebates. While giving rebates to a fuel and iron company from the traffic rates, it charged the full rates to other shippers.

Mr. Ripley, president of the company, after seeking a rehearing, wisely withdrew his request.

Therefore, now to all sin-laden souls, who within the railroad offices of the country are moaning over the crimes they declare they must commit in order to do business, comes this bill of the House, which will bring to them complete forgiveness, salvation and relief,—for this reason: When reasonable rates are fixed by the government, rebates will no more be heard of. Rebates exist only because the published rates are too high, so that the railroads can give rebates and yet make a profit on the freight carried. They cannot make a profit when giving rates below reasonable rates. They will not give rebates in order to lose money. Whenever, after this bill passes, a rebate to a favored shipper is discovered, the lawful rate will be reduced certainly as low as the rate of the rebate, and thereafter there will be no rebates down to lower prices to anybody. So rates fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission will, without fail, bring benefit and relief alike to the patrons of the railroads and to the distressed, conscience-stricken railroad officials who now cannot help committing criminal offenses in order to earn their daily bread.

There are other considerations of a political nature which should receive the attention of the Republicans of the committee.

If this bill is rejected against a unanimous democracy (which is still led by their intellectual though fanatical leader, Mr. Bryan), and two propositions shall be thereby established:

First, that the government will take no part in the original fixing of rates of railroad transportation, and that the rates fixed by the railroads must be inexorably paid by all travellers and shippers.

Second, that no remedy for the exaction and collection of exorbitant or unreasonable rates shall be applied, except at the end of long lawsuits brought by feeble individuals against a twelve billion combination of capital in the hands of a few railroad magnates,—

Mr. Bryan will be elected president in 1908 and with him will surely come (1) the governmental ownership of railroads; (2) the suppression of the fifteenth amendment and of the colored vote; (3) the destruction of the protective tariff with the enthronement of free trade; (4) the repeal of the gold standard with the restoration of free silver coinage at 16 to 1, and all the other unnumbered woes of which Mr. Bryan is the doleful advocate.

No Republican candidate can prevent this dismal misfortune except President Roosevelt and he will not again be a candidate. Possibly, however, Senator LaFollette is another Republican leader who could stem the tide of democracy, driven along by the inrushing indignation of millions of Republicans. Yet, even then, the railroads, thus compelled to choose between two threatening demons, might conclude to assist in the election of Mr. Bryan. They planned the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt through the election of Judge Parker as a gold standard leader and only abandoned the latter when, as the canvass progressed, he turned the kaleidoscope and made himself a leader of the proletariat. It will be a hard choice for the railroads and in their desperation they may prefer Bryan to LaFollette and may have power enough to turn the scale.

To avert the possible calamity thus foreshadowed, Republican efforts should be steadily directed by Congress and the executive toward the protection of the people from oppressions by the money power. That the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce will labor to this end will be everywhere believed because among its Republican members are such earnest

sympathizers with the lowly, such ardent servants of the plain people, such untiring opponents of corporation greed and monopolistic rapacity;—senators who inspire the bright hope and arouse the confiding trust of that Republican party, which Mr. John M. Harlan of Chicago so truthfully claims is “the champion of the unorganized many against the aggressions of the highly organized and selfish few.” A great opportunity for such champions is now clearly before the Senate committee and zeal for seizing it should not be hypnotized and paralyzed by any evil powers whatever.

Very respectfully,

WM. E. CHANDLER.

RAILROAD RATE LEGISLATION.

[Part of an interview with Mr Chandler in the *Washington Post* of May 28, 1905.]

“The situation obliges me to say that the chances are that the railroad rate legislation will be defeated. How easily the Esch-Townsend bill was destroyed in the Senate! It was agreed that it should not pass and it did not. Does any person suppose that twelve thousand millions of dollars, with all the avenues open to them for corrupt approach to the men able to control popular government, will be defeated in their announced determination that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be given no particle of control over railroad rates to prevent extortion? The country should be prepared for the defeat of the president's proposition in the simple form in which he presents it. The railroad decision is (1) to prevent the passage of any bill; (2) if something must pass, to so overlay it and limit it and obscure it and burden it with verbose provisions as to make it worthless, and (3) to force pooling provisions along with it, so that by authority of positive law all the railroads of the country may combine themselves into one vast combination, destroy all competition, and dominate the politics and the government of the country—state and national—as completely as any oligarchy ever subdued any helpless populace.

COUNTRY NOT AWAKE TO THEIR POWER.

“The country is not awake to the mighty power of the combined railroads of the country with their special facilities for terrorizing politicians of every degree. Possibly something may arouse the people, but they are not yet alive to the situation.

* * * * *

“Very great progress has been made; the Supreme Court destroyed the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, the Joint Traffic Association and the Northern Securities Company; and the legal proceedings of the attorney-general against the beef trust and other trusts are becoming very effective in preserving competition and punishing monopolies. The United States Steel Corporation has not yet been reached, but it is more than possible the attorney-general can destroy it under existing law. In that company property of the value of about \$300,000,000 has been capitalized at about \$1,500,000,000, and the consumers of iron and steel products are paying interest on more than a thousand millions of capital which is bogus. A worse condition exists in the oil business, where three or four times the value of the oil is paid by the consumers in order that individual monopolists may acquire fortunes of fifty or a hundred or two hundred millions.

WRONGS NOT RIGHTED BY DONATIONS.

“The wrongs involved in these conditions should be righted by law, and they are not likely to escape rectification because the people get large donations for their libraries, their colleges and their other institutions of benevolence. The greatest fight of all has been begun by President Roosevelt against twelve billions of dollars of railroad capitalization on the question whether the few men who control it shall tax the people exactly what they choose for transportation; with no remedy except theoretically, and, therefore, uselessly at the end of long law suits carried on by single individuals. That President Roosevelt's battle will be successful with the forces arrayed against him we cannot be sure. It depends upon the question whether the people are to be as earnest as the

oligarchy. It would require a long statement to describe the methods, corrupt and otherwise, which the railroads are planning to defeat the president. One has just come to my knowledge. Inasmuch as the people are appealing to a national president and a national Legislature to help them, and the work of the railroads immediately in hand is to balk these national agencies, states' rights are to be applied to defeat all bills in Congress. It is being said to the Southern people that if national control of the railroads is allowed, all discrimination between whites and blacks in the enjoyment of railroad facilities will be abolished; in other words, there will be no more Jim Crow cars, and the white man and the negro will have to sit side by side in the same cars all over the South.

SPENCER CHOSEN FOR THE TASK.

"It may seem ludicrous to suggest that this appeal to fear of negro intrusion will send nearly all the Southern votes in Congress away from any strengthening of the national statute against railroad discriminations—but such is most probable. The strongest railroad manager, intellectually, in the country, is Samuel Spencer, of the Southern Railway, and he has been designated to make the issue with the president by putting forth, as he has done, the announcement that the railways will not submit to Interstate Commerce Commission power, and he is to consolidate the South against legislation by the old and never-failing cry that there is danger of negro-ascendency. If all the Democrats in the Senate, on this ground, in spite of Mr. Bryan, array themselves against the bill, Mr. Spencer will dominate the situation. In addition to this outcry, there are to be organized for pressure upon Congress bogus boards of trade, shippers' organizations of lumbermen, farmers, manufacturers, and producers of all sorts, which are to be set on foot and supplied with money and free passes in order to testify that they prefer that the rate-making power of the railroads shall not be limited, and that they fear exceedingly the evils and sorrows that will come to the people if the commis-

sion is allowed to interfere with rates. These bogus organizations will be composed of three classes of persons. (1) Hired men; (2) shippers who are now in the power of the roads, and (3) shippers who are seeking rebates and special privileges. So there will be trickery as well as corruption resorted to in order to defeat the president and the people.

"Will the history of the second Cleveland administration be repeated in President Roosevelt's future relations with the Senate?

"I do not think the contest that is coming, intense as it is to be, will disturb the personal relations of the president with the senators," he replied. "But when the president recommends that power be given to the commission to reduce an extortionate rate and to make it take effect until an increase is allowed by the commission or by a court, and when the railroads through Mr. Spencer announce that such a law shall not be passed, a very clear issue is joined; and if the Senate again yields to the railroads as it did when it destroyed the Esch-Townsend bill which was almost solely the above proposition of the president, naturally there will be some electricity flying. Parties may be disrupted, but there will be no shooting."

* * * * *

"By what process, if at all, will Roosevelt command the support of the Democratic party? Was his Chicago speech an indication of a desire for such a support?"

"Only by his consistency and persistency in demanding and securing legislation under which the Interstate Commerce Commission may, on complaint of anybody, remedy an unreasonable railroad rate for fares or freights by fixing a new and lower rate which shall be binding until increased by the judgment of a court or by the consent of the commission. The president has irrevocably committed himself to such a law. The railroads have just as irrevocably announced that it shall not pass; that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall have no rate-making power; not even the power when they decide that a rate is extortionate to fix a fair and just rate

to take its place. The defeat in the Senate by the railroads of the Esch-Townsend bill, which passed the House 326 to 17, and the recent announcements of the railroads to the Senate committee and their attacks upon the commission make the issue very clear; and it is the great issue of the first decade of the new century.

BRYAN AT ROOSEVELT'S SIDE.

"Mr. Bryan and his followers in the Democratic party have placed themselves by the side of the president—just as firmly as the great corporations seeking to control first the Republican party have placed themselves against the president and are hostile to him. Necessarily, therefore, the president will command more and more Democratic support. His speech at Chicago did not indicate a desire for the special support of that party, but his acceptance of the reception by the Democratic Iroquois Club did show a willingness in the coming fight between the people and the corporations to receive support from any party—and in this attitude the president was right. The president being the leader, Republicans working in a good and popular cause need not be afraid to consult and co-operate with Democrats of all grades."

"What of Bryan, or any other possible Democratic Moses?"

"Of course Mr. Bryan is the leader of the Democratic supporters of the president in the latter's demand for railroad rate legislation. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Bryan will stand firm when it becomes evident that the Republican opposition to such legislation is to be so formidable as to disrupt the party. Will he continue willing to give the president a victory which will make him the greatest leader and benefactor of the people which the country contains? Or will he be content to see the president defeated, in order that the Republican party may be disrupted and the chances for Democratic ascendancy vastly increased? The temptation to Mr. Bryan to equivocate will be great, but I believe he will stand firm. He has ever shown himself to be a man of sincere and earnest convictions, with moral courage unlimited. He may not

again be a candidate for the presidency, he may not support as a candidate a Republican, even if Roosevelt or one like him is nominated, but he will not support another Democratic candidate like Cleveland or Parker."

THE TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY.

[Part of an interview with Mr. Chandler in the *Washington Post* of May 28, 1906.]

OPPOSED TO PROHIBITIVE TARIFFS.

"The tariff is not in danger; that is, I mean the protective tariff, not the prohibitive tariff, which, if it exists, ought to be in danger. There seem to be three systems advocated:

"(1) A prohibitive tariff which imposes duties so high that no foreign products such as our country can yield in any quantity, however small, will enter our ports. Under this system the government will get no revenue.

"(2) A protective tariff fixing duties high enough to equalize here and abroad the cost of production of competitive articles; so that under ordinary conditions the American product will supply the demand, but when prices to the consumers become unreasonably high, the foreign article will come in. Under this system both the home producer and the consumer are reasonably protected, and the government gets much revenue.

"(3) Free trade, under which no duties are imposed upon products such as our country yields, but only revenue duties on tea, coffee and like articles, which are solely the product of other countries. This would either ruin the manufacturing industries of the country or reduce the wages of American labor to the pauper scale of continental Europe or of Asia. I thought the political conflicts of the last 20 years with their results had so convinced the American politicians that no one would advocate free trade—but I was sorry to see a few days ago as able and intelligent a statesman as Senator Carmack announcing the certainty of free trade.

CONSTANT SCRUTINY OF SCHEDULES.

"Under a protective tariff as I define it, the revenue laws should be

constantly under scrutiny, and subject to revision. If a duty is too high and is absolutely prohibitory it should be reduced. If a duty is too low and does not equalize conditions, it should be raised. There is no sacredness about schedules; the tariff rates are not made of iron. If any American producer has a just grievance he should bring it to Congress and its Committees of Ways and Means, and Finance; of course he will be heard; and so will any American consumer who has a just grievance. Very few, if any, specific changes are just now demanded either by producers or consumers; and that there is any wide demand for a general revision of the tariff from either producers or consumers I have not yet discovered. The outcry proceeds solely from persons seeking to make a political issue. They will do no harm.

"Reciprocity is an adjunct of a wise and sensible protective tariff system. It means in tariff rates treating better the nations who give us advantages than we do the nations who withhold those advantages from us. Suppose of two countries one admits free of duty our food products; our agricultural implements, our iron and steel manufactures, and our textile fabrics, while the other imposes tariff duties on them all; shall we admit free or at the same rates of duty the sugar, tea, coffee, spices or any other products of both these nations? If we do it is commercial folly.

RECIPROCITY SYSTEM COMPLEX.

"The principle of reciprocity which Mr. Blaine early said must in the future go along with protection, requires special arrangements with foreign nations and makes the tariff question complex. It involves a system of maximum and minimum rates of duty, such as France has adopted and perfected, under which the wonderful prosperity of France has been built up. The complexity of the system of reciprocity must not deter us from its adoption.

"It pleased and amused me the other day to see a distinguished advocate of a protective tariff, who has shown no favor to reciprocity treaties, declare, as if it were a new discovery of his, that what we need is minimum and maximum rates of duty. If he knows any way of utilizing them without reciprocal arrangements with foreign countries and without reducing prohibitive tariff duties he should proclaim that discovery also. Revision of the tariff through the reduction of prohibitive duties and the establishment of reciprocity with friendly countries will not be seriously opposed in the politics of the future; nor is there any danger of the destruction of the true and wise American protective system. Senator Warren's tempest in a teapot is the description to be applied to all the agitation about the tariff."

